common sympathy when they hear of the sufferings of Indians abroad, and when Gandhi or Nehru visits any part of the country he is welcomed. Language differences need not be a drawback to unity, as is proved by the case of Switzerland, while Protestant and Catholic have been able to live together in peace hi more than one country. There is a temple in Benares hi which the equivalent to the idol is a map of India. This has dangers, obviously, but it is significant.

The Congress has to-day become a remarkable unifying factor and all over India one can see photographs of Congress leaders and people dressed in homespun. The development of Hindustani as an all-Indian language should have a profound effect on unification. One can see in the leading figures of present-day India markedly local characteristics, but they are being offered at one altar. Gandhi may go down to history as one who has achieved the miracle of forging once and for all an all-Indian -unity which will last. Indian nationalism is by no means the same thing as nationalism in the West, though it is not without similar dangers. It represents the craving for a synthetic self-expression of India as such. It is necessary to say this, because the class-interpretation of nationalism can be dangerously one-sided.

On the other hand, the common problems of workers and peasants all over India can also make for unity. The development of trade unions can also have a unifying effect; the workers of Bombay and Ahmedabad know that the struggle of their Cawnpore comrades will have a vital effect on the question of their own wages.

To Tilak, *Swaraj* meant "People's Dominion," a modernised version of the ancient Indian conception of the State (c£ his lectures on Home Rule). The Kshatrya kings were controlled and advised by Councils of Elders and the age-long popular institutions. It seems that Tilak envisaged the continuance of the King-Emperor's suzerainty, but controlled by the will of the people: "The meaning of *Swarajya* is the retention of our Emperor and the rule of the English people and the full possession by the people of the authority to manage the remaining affairs." To-day Indian politicians would go farther than this, but Tilak's position is an interesting reminder of the fact that historically in India government was by no means a matter only of the king (cf.

p. 178).